



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

SEMITIC VERBS DERIVED FROM PARTICLES.¹

BY PAUL HAUPT,
Johns Hopkins University.

In note 25 to my paper on the Hebrew stem *nahál to rest*, published in the April (1906) number of the *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, I have illustrated the formation of Semitic triconsonantal stems from biconsonantal roots by discussing some of the verbs based on the root כלל *to hold*, from which *e. g.* the three words כלה *kalláh bride*, כליה *kiliáh kidney*, and כלאים *kil'áim² two* are derived. The new, fourteenth edition of Gesenius' Hebrew lexicon (1905) states that the etymology of these terms is obscure; but *kalláh bride* denotes a girl who is *held*, *i. e.* tied, pledged, engaged, betrothed, affianced,³ just as our word *bride* is connected with *bride = bridle*; cf. the French phrase *brider quelqu'un par un contrat*. *Kiliáh kidney* means *capsuled, inclosed*, referring to the capsules of the kidneys as well as to the fat in which the kidneys are embedded.⁴ The dual *kil'áim² two*, which we find in the two well-known passages Lev. 19, 19; Deut. 22, 9, means originally a *brace*, *i. e.* two things firmly held together. According to Bæntsch's commentary on Leviticus⁵ *kil'áim²* means *scharf auseinanderzuhaltende Dinge*; but כלל does not mean *to keep apart*. Originally כלאים *kil'áim²* denoted a *brace*, or pair, or couple (cf. ذفغان *dif'ani*).¹⁰ The meaning *two different kinds*, a mixture of two heterogeneous things, is secondary.

Lev. 19, 19 states: Thou shalt not breed hybrids (*e. g.* mules) lit. thou shalt not cause two (animals of) different (species) to interbreed; thou shalt not sow thy field with hybrid seed, *i. e.* two different kinds of seed; nor put on a garment of hybrid material, *i. e.* linsey-woolsey, of which the warp is linen and the woof woollen. A mixture of oats and barley sown together is called in English: *dredge* = German *Dreck*; a mixture of rye and wheat is known as *maslin* or *meslin*; a crop of several species of grain grown together is termed in England: *mangcorn* or *mongcorn*.

For the sowing of a field with different kinds of seed we may compare the second couplet of the proverbial poem at the

end of the 28th chapter of the Book of Isaiah, where the poet (not Isaiah!) says of the plowman:

הֲלֹא אִם־שָׂוִה פָּנֶיהָ וְהִפִּיץ קֶצֶה וּכְמֹן
וְשֵׁם הַשָּׂה וְנִסְמַר וּכְסֻמַּת גְּבֻלָּתוֹ :

Does he not, when the surface is leveled,
sow broadcast fennel and cummin,
And duly drill wheat there and broom-corn,
while spelt is set out for its border?⁷

The proper term for a mixture of linen and wool is *linsey*, or rather *linsel*, while *woolsey* should be used for a mixture of wool and cotton. The Hebrew term for *linsel* is שַׁא'טְנֵז sha'atnéz, which seems to be a foreign word. In Stade's ZAT 20, 37 Goldziher called attention to the fact that according to some Arabic lexicographers the sorcerers mixed cotton and wool for certain magical practices. In one of the cuneiform incantations of the magical texts known as the šurpu series⁸ a cord made of white wool and black wool (šipāti peçāti, šipāti çalmāti)⁹ is used for magical purposes. This mixed cord (Assyr. qû eçpu)¹⁰ was supposed to break the evil spell, the curse of the gods.

It is a mistake to suppose that all triconsonantal stems in Semitic are derived from biconsonantal roots, and that all biconsonantal roots had an *a*-vowel between the two consonants. There may have been primitive roots consisting of one, two, or three consonants. Words like Assyr. qû *cord*,¹¹ mû *water*, pû *mouth* are neither triconsonantal nor biconsonantal.

In my paper on Denominative Verbs in Semitic, which I presented at the meeting of the American Oriental Society on April 22, 1892,¹² I pointed out that Heb. פָּנָה panáh *to turn* (cf. Arab. تَوَجَّه tauájjaha, from وَجَّه uajh *face*) was a denominative verb, derived from pānu, the masculine plural of pû *mouth*, while פָּתָה patáh and פָּתַח patáḥ *to open* were derived from pātu *opening*, the feminine plural of pû *mouth*, used in a metaphorical meaning.¹³ Heb. פְּנִימָה pēnimah *interior* meant originally *forward*,¹⁴ a person who was בְּבֵית babbáith,² i. e. *inside* or *in the house*, could say בֹּא פְּנִימָה bô pēnimah *come forward* for *come inside*.

In the Critical Notes on Kings (SBOT)²⁰ p. 210, l. 20 I have shown that the meaning *inside* of בְּבֵית babbáith² is more primitive than the meaning *in the house*. The feminine form בֵּית báith² *house* stands for bēth, bāt, bā't and is connected

with the verb **בוא** *bô* *to enter*¹⁵ and the reduplicated form **בָּב** *bâb* *gate*, originally *entrance*. The stem **בָּ** *bô* *to enter*,¹⁵ on the other hand, is connected with the preposition **ב** *bē* *in*, just as our word *inn*, which means originally *shelter*, is identical with the preposition *in*. We find the preposition **ב** *bē* *in* as the first stem-consonant of a verb, not only in **בָּ** *bô* *to enter* (originally *to in* = *to inn*)¹⁵ but also in Assy. *bašû* *he is* (lit. *in him*; cf. Eth. **ላ**: *bô* and **ላቲ**: *bôtû*; Dillm.², p. 435; TSBA 3, 104) and in Heb. **בלה** *baláh* (**בלי**) *to become old*, originally *to be worn out*, *to be used up*, *to be reduced to nothing*. In Assyrian the Piel¹⁶ *bullû* means *to annihilate*, while the Qal (HW 273^b, below)²⁰ has the meaning *to implore*, i. e. *to importune*, *to weary*¹⁷ with prayers (cf. **וְלֹא הִוְגַּעְתִּיךָ בַּלְבוּנָה**, Is. 43, 23). The noun **בלי** *bēlî* *annihilation* (cf. **תַּבְלִית** *tablith* Is. 10, 25) is originally a compound of the preposition **ב** *bē* and the negative **לֹא** *lô*; the negative **בל** *bal* is shortened from *balû*, *balî*, *balâ*; cf. Assy. *šadû* *mountain*, constr. *šad*; *našû* *carrier*, constr. *naš*; *kalû* *totality*, constr. *kal*.¹⁸ In Assyrian we find *balû* or *balî* = Heb. **בלָא** *bělô* (for *bi-lâ*) *without*, or *ina lâ* (e. g. *ina lâ ûmišu* = Heb. **בְּלֹא יוֹמִי** *bělô iômô*); cf. Eth. *enbála* = Assy. *ina balû* = Heb. **בְּבִלִי** *bivlî* (for *bi-bēlî*); see Critical Notes on Proverbs (SBOT) p. 51, n. β. The preposition **ב** *bē* is preserved in Assy. *balû* and *bašû*, just as the preposition **ל** *lē* is preserved in Assy. *lapāni* = Heb. **לִפְנֵי** *lifnê*; or as the Assyrian preposition *ina* is preserved in Ethiopic *enbála* *without* and *enzá* *in that* (German *indem*). A feminine form of the negative **בל** *bal* is **בְּלִיתִי** *biltî*, i. e. *bilt* with lengthening of the *i* of the genitive, which is used instead of the construct state; cf. **זֹלָתִי** *zûlâthî* = **זֹלָתָהּ** *zûlâth*, &c. In the case of **ב** *bē* *in* and **בָּא** *bô* *to enter*,¹⁵ some may be inclined to think that the verbal root is perhaps more primitive than the preposition, just as the Sumerian post-position *-ra* may be connected with the verb *ra* *to go* = Assy. *alâku*;¹⁹ but in the case of **בלה** *baláh* the verb is evidently derived from the compound particle **בְּלִי** *bēlî*, consisting of the preposition **ב** *bē* and the negative *lî*, the 'genitive' of *lâ*.

Notes.

(1) Presented at the meeting of the American Oriental Society, New Haven, April 18, 1906.

(2) The dual termination *-aïm* is monosyllabic, not dissyllabic (*áyim*); see above, p. 255, n. 17.

(3) Friedrich Delitzsch, *Prolegomena* (Leipzig, 1886) p. 131, advanced the opinion that kallātu meant originally *closed chamber* (from כַּלָּא i. e. *the bridal chamber*). According to W. R. Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia* (Cambridge, 1885) p. 136, the etymological sense is that of *covering*. For the cuneiform ideogram of kallātu *bride* cf. my translation of Cant. 8, 9 (AJSL 18, 196). Winckler's interpretation of this passage (in his *Altorientalische Forschungen*, 3, 240) is impossible. For the etymology of *bride* (and for *dredge* = German *Dreck*, &c.) see my paper *Some Germanic Etymologies* in vol. 27 of *The American Journal of Philology* (Baltimore, 1906).

(4) See Lev. 3, 4. 10. 15 and compare the translation of the first five chapters of Leviticus in the *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, No. 114, p. 113.

(5) Bruno Bæntsch, *Exodus-Leviticus-Numeri* (Göttingen, 1903) p. 398.

(6) For the two beats in גְּבוּלָתוֹ gēbûlathô cf. n. 71 to my paper on ψ 23 (AJSL 21, 148).

(7) See my restoration of the Hebrew text in the *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, No. 163, p. 89.

(8) See my paper on Babylonian Elements in the Levitic Ritual in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, vol. 19, p. 55.

(9) See iv R² 8, 29^b; cf. my ASKT 91, 55. 58 and Zimmern's *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion* (Leipzig, 1901) p. 33, l. 150.

(10) The stem is עָפַף = ضَعَف ḏá'afa, Syr. اَحَف (عَفَف = عَفَف); cf. Driver, *Heb. Tenses* (1892) p. 223. For the transposition cf. my remarks in ZDMG 58, 631, n. *, cited in § 10 of my paper on the Heb. stem nahál to rest. Delitzsch (HW 308; AL⁴, 168) derives eḡēpu from a stem יָעַף. Heb. יָעַף is not connected with Assy. eḡēpu (contrast Ges.-Buhl¹⁴) but Aram. יִיפְחָא loan may be connected with Assy. ḡiptu (constr. ḡipāt, ḡibat) *interest*.

(11) Assy. qû (Heb. קָן) may be a Sumerian loanword (= Sumer. gu).

(12) See the abstract in No. 114 of the *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, p. 109.

(13) Cf. Gesenius-Kautzsch²⁷, § 122, u. A similar differentiation of the plural forms is found in Persian, e. g. سرها sar-hâ *heads*, but سران sarân *chiefs*; گردنها gardan-hâ *necks*, but گردنان gardanân *magnates*. For the masculine plural ending -ân in Semitic cf. my remarks in the Critical Notes on Kings (SBOT) p. 270, n. *.

(14) Gesenius' explanation (*Thesaurus*, p. 1112^b, below) that פָּנִימָה corresponded to the Greek τὰ ἐνώπια, is not satisfactory.

(15) The primitive meaning is *to turn in at night*; cf. e. g. Jud. 19, 15; this explains also the phrase בָּא אֶל אִשָּׁה and מְבוֹא הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ (cf. ψ 19, 6). The verb is intransitive or involuntary, because originally people sought shelter only when compelled by the inclemency of the weather or by nightfall. See my remarks in JAOS 16, ci; cf. Gesenius²⁷, § 43, a.

(16) In his paper *Die Bezeichnung der Verbalstämme im Semitischen* printed in Peiser's *Orientalistische Litteratur-Zeitung*, vol. 9 (Jan. 1906) col. 45, Dr. Ungnad has proposed a "new" notation for the "conjugations" of the Semitic verb, e. g. G (= *Grundstamm*) for Qal; D (= *Doppelungsstamm*) for Piel; S for Shaphel; N for Niphal, &c. Dr. Ungnad has evidently overlooked the fact that such a notation must have an international character. We may use Q = Qal, but not G = *Grundstamm*; in the same way we may adopt I = Intensive, but not D = *Doppelungsstamm*. I proposed the symbols Q, I, S, N, and Q^t, Q^{tn}, &c. 27 years ago, in my *Sumerische Familiengesetze* (Leipzig, 1879) p. 64, n. 1, and this notation has been used in Muss-Arnolt's Assyrian dictionary.

(17) Cf. הִלָּאָה Is. 7, 13; Mic. 6, 3, &c. The verb הִלָּאָה is derived from the negative לֹא, just as Assyr. balû is connected with בָּלַן.

(18) See above, p. 205, n. †.

(19) See my ASKT 140, § 11; *Akkadische Sprache* (Berlin, 1883) p. 14. This postposition, of course, cannot establish any connection between Sumerian and Turkish or Finnish. There are postpositions in Latin (e. g. *gratiâ, causâ, tenus*, &c.) as well as in Sumerian. We find a postposition -ra as exponent of the dative in Persian, e. g. پدر را pidâr-ra *to the father*, Sumerian adâ-ra. Cf. the Persian pronoun man-ra or ma-ra *to me*, Sum. mara; see *Akkad. Sprache*, p. xli, l. 1. Linguists who have been led astray by Scheftelowitz's theories concerning the Aryan character of certain cuneiform idioms should read the remarks in Delitzsch and Haupt's *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, vol. 5, p. 411. Cf. also Bloomfield's article On some alleged Indo-European Languages in Cuneiform Character in vol. 25 of *The American Journal of Philology* (Baltimore, 1904) p. 7.

(20) For the abbreviations see above, p. 202, n. 3.